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this on following Sundays too. They may bring chocolate and wine and a *chiquihuite* of bread and put this before the *santo* also. Usually the boy and girl know the matter is settled before the formal consent is given.

The wedding ceremony is performed by the priest in the church, if the priest is there and if the families can afford it. Civil marriage is required by law and obviates difficulties of inheritance; but it is not well regarded and is done reluctantly and with no feeling of a sanction received. Not uncommonly neither ceremony is performed.[1] After the wedding there is a feast, with *mole poblano* ["turkey *mole*"]. This takes place at the house of the groom. His parents and godparents stand the expense. The girl's wedding costume is likewise paid for by the boy's parents and godparents. The relatives and friends of both families come to the wedding feast; sometimes dancing goes on for two nights.

The marriage is in part a recognition of the new relationship between two families: between the parents and godparents of the bride and those of the groom. All these people are now *compadres*, a very close and intimate relationship characteristic of the peasant peoples of Catholic South Europe. The importance of the godfather, who to a certain extent displaces the father in control over and responsibility for the child, is described by Gamio;[2] the relationship is about the same in Tepoztlán.

The family organization is in general European. The details of family relationships among the Aztecs are unknown. But a comparison of present kinship terms in Tepoztlán with those used by the Aztecs[3]

[1] The collected information does not warrant a statement as to the extent of informal unions without any ceremonial recognition.

[2] *La población del valle de Juan Teotihuacan*, II, 243.

[3] This is done in a table in Appendix A.

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shows that the old terms are used in so far as they agree with European categories, or are modified in meaning so as to conform with European grouping. The importance of the relationship between parents-in-law is reflected in the use of the Nahuatl word *huexi*, and also of the Spanish equivalent, *consuegros*, to denote this relationship.

The ritual of death includes two conspicuous features. One is the wake, a mildly orgiastic occasion probably more Catholic than Indian. Few pre-Columbian elements survive in the death customs. The paper sandals on the soles of the deceased, the water-gourd and food placed with the body, are probably such feeble survivals.

The other is the sharp distinction between a child's funeral and that of an adult. The former is, as the child is supposed to "become an angel immediately," a theoretically happy occasion, and is accompanied with symbols of rejoicing. An adult is less certain of a place near the Divine Seat, and the funeral symbolism is somber. In Mexico City this distinction is exhibited chiefly in the color of the coffin—white for a child, black for an adult. In some Indian villages the rejoicing on the occasion of the death of a child is more copiously expressed than in Tepoztlán. In Xoxocotla, south of Tepoztlán, in Morelos, rockets are discharged at the funeral of a child, and in some Guerrero villages a dance is held.[1]

[1] Not personally verified. The statements in this sentence were made by informants.

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APPENDIX A

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

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The terms in use in Tepoztlán, when Nahuatl is spoken, are the same (with occasional minor variations) as they were in ancient Nahuatl, according to the list extracted from Molina (*Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana*, 1571) by Paul Radin,[1] in the following instances: "son," "father," "mother," "grandfather," "grandson" ("granddaughter"?), "son-in-law," and "daughter-in-law." These ancient terms had the same specific connotation in old Nahuatl. But where the old language made age or other distinctions not recognized by European kinship terminology, such terms disappeared and were replaced by Spanish terms in modern Tepoztecan Nahuatl vocabulary, or else were extended to cover the class represented by the nearest Spanish term. The former change is illustrated by the use of Spanish terms for "nephew," "niece," "brother-in-law," "sister-in-law," and "cousin" (general classifications which the old Nahuatl did not make) and by the new (?) general Nahuatl word for "brother" or "sister" (*icnihtli*). The latter change is represented by the extension of *nonnantli* to mean the husband's mother as well as the wife's mother, and the corresponding extension of the word for "wife's father." It is not clear why the Spanish words for "uncle" and "aunt" appear to have superseded, in Tepoztlán, the old Nahuatl terms. Perhaps these were individualizing rather than classificatory. The modern words for "husband" and "wife" are likewise different, but probably are also old terms (*nozoa* means simply "my woman").

The terms in the following table are given as they appear when standing alone. Actually they are usually heard with the pronominal particle and hence without the suffix; but often with the honorific suffix. Thus *pilli* is almost never heard, but *nopiltzin* ("my child"), etc.; so *nocihtzin*, not *cihtli*, etc. So it is also with Spanish terms used in Nahuatl discourse (but the honorific is not added): *nosuegra* ("my mother-in-law").

[1] "Maya, Nahuatl and Tarascan Kinship Terms."

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English	Tepoztecan Nahuatl	Ancient Aztec Nahuatl
Father	*Tata, tatzin*	Same
Mother	*Nana, nantzin*	Same
Son or daughter	*Pilli, conetl*	Same [Radin gives *tepiltzin* or *noconeuh*, "son"; *tecapantli* or *teconeuh*, "daughter"]
Brother or sister	*Icnihtli*	[No word for "brother" or "sister," but words for "older brother," "younger brother," "older sister," "younger sister"]
Grandfather	*Colli*	Same
Grandmother	*Cihtli*	Same
Grandson	*Ixhuitli*	Same [also meant "father's brother's son"]
Granddaughter	?	*Texiuh*
Uncle	"*Tio*"	*Tlahtli*
Aunt	"*Tia*"	*Auitl*
Nephew	"*Sobrino*"	[No general word for "nephew"; *ixhuitl* designated "father's brother's son"]
Niece	"*Sobrina*"	[No general word for "niece"; *teixiuh* designated "father's brother's daughter"]
Cousin	"*Primo*"	[No general word for "cousin"; children of father's brother designated by special terms; other cousins distinguished according to whether older or younger than the speaker]
Mother-in-law	*Nonnantli* or "*Suegra*"	*Nonnantli* designated "wife's mother" only
Father-in-law	*Montahtli* or "*Suegro*"	*Montahtli* designated "wife's father" only
Brother-in-law	"*Cuñado*"	*Textli* [*tehuextli?*] designated the wife's brother [or wife's sister]
Sister-in-law	"*Cuñada*"	*Uexatli* designated only the "husband's sister"
Son-in-law	*Montli*	Same
Daughter-in-law	*Zoamontli*	Same (variant form, *cihuamontli*)
Husband	*Namictli*	*Teoquichui*
Wife	*Zoatli*	*Teciuauh*

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English	Tepoztecan Nahuatl	Ancient Aztec Nahuatl
Stepfather	*Tlacpatahtli*	?
Stepmother	*Chahuanantli*	?
Godfather	"*Padrino*," less commonly, *toyotahtli*	.....
Godmother	"*Madrina*," less commonly, *toyonantli*	.....
Reciprocal term used between parents and godparents, between two godparents of the same child, or, by extension, to any intimate friend	"*Compadre*" (used in both Spanish and Nahuatl discourse)	.....
Reciprocal term used between the two pairs of parents-in-law [Sp. *consuegros*]	*Huexihtli*	?
Reciprocal term used between individuals who bear the same baptismal name [Sp. *hermanos de nombre*]	*tocaihnihtli*	?

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527 *ihuan chicome tlamimilolli;*
536 *'huan chicome tlaltemimilolli;*[1]
539 and [the] seven stony hillsides;

no-ayochicahualiz ihuan no-ayotlahpalihuiz!
in no-ayochicaualiz 'huan no-ayotlapalihuiz!
they are my valor and my essential strength!

Nicnochicahua noyollo!
Nic-chicahua in noyollo!
I fortify my heart!

Maxihuala, tehuatl ti Tlayecapanecatl!
Ma xihuallauh in ti Tlayecapanecatl!
Come forward, thou of Tlayacapan!

tlein ipampa tinechtemohua?
Tlein ipampa in ti-nechtemohua?
Why dost thou seek me?

Cahuel nelli queh oquimohtlahui yehuatzin,
Ca-uel-nelli queh oquimo'talhui[2] *in yehuatzin,*
It is quite true as she, the aunt, said who shines

te ahuitzin, ompa ilhuicacxitoni,
te-ahuitzin,[3] *ompa ilhuicac-xitoni,*
there in the heavens,

[1] *Tlalte-mimilolli*, the rough, broken hill- or mountain-side; *tlaltetl*, "earth-stone," a ball of earth, clay, conglomerate, or volcanic matter found in abundance on the mountain slopes of the valley of Mexico; *mimiloa*, "to extend," "to increase," "to roll."

[2] *Mo'talhui; italhui*, "to speak," "to say," "to explain."

[3] *Te-ahuitzin*, the aunt (in general), substituted for *te-ci*, the aunt of one's grandparents. Teci was the ancestor of gods and men and the antecessor of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Tepeyac (Guadalupe). As the wife of the fire-god, in the older Mexican mythology, she was the goddess of birth and fertility and the ruler, like her husband, of the three divisions of the universe, the superterrestrial (all above the earth); the terrestrial (on the earth), and the subterrestrial (below the earth). Teci was the "hare in the moon" and, by metathesis, the moon herself, who assumed all the attributes of the goddess. When the grain was gathered in, the Mexican people held a great festival in (September) in honor of Teci (identified with the moon). The *Tepoztecs* play seems to have been written to

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581 within the last ten years revealed that in fifteen cases the wife was poorer than the husband at the time of marriage, in five cases husband and wife had approximately the same economic status, and in five cases the wife was from a wealthier family than the husband. In each of the five marriages in the last group there was some extenuating factor which explained the fact that a rich girl married a poor boy. Two of the girls were known to have had affairs previous to the marriage; one girl was thirty years old and married a boy of seventeen; one girl was from a small nearby village and married "up" socially, if not economically, into Tepoztlán; and one girl married for love over the objections of her parents.

Parents, in giving their blessings to a marriage, are more concerned with practical considerations of the health of the prospective mate and the family's reputation. [584] The boy's mother and godmother will make inquiries about the girl and will oppose her if she is found to have a reputation for being lazy or disobedient at home, having many *novios*, going out alone, or being sickly. If the women in the girl's [853] family frequently suffer from lack of milk at the birth of a child, she will be considered a bad risk. Mothers are also wary of their son's marrying a girl who is the favorite at home. These factors are of prime importance to the boy's mother since she will be closely associated with her future daughter-in-law. If the mother [584] strongly disapproves of the girl, she will do everything she can to break up the relationship. If the son insists on the marriage, his parents will be obligated to carry out his wishes but will do so grudgingly and will make a poor wedding.

The girl's parents seek a son-in-law who owns or who will inherit some property and who knows how to work hard. They are not so demanding about personal qualities as are his parents, since their son-in-law will, for the most part, not live with them, although they generally disapprove of a man who drinks a great deal or who is *muy enamorado*. A boy who is discovered to be their daughter's *novio* will almost always be strongly disapproved of by the girl's parents, because of their anger over being deceived and because it is taken to be evidence of the boy's lack of respect for them.

582 Marriage restrictions in Tepoztlán follow the usual Catholic tradition of western culture. Marriage between all but distant relatives is forbidden. First and second cousins do not marry, and marriage between third and fourth cousins is dis- [605] couraged. However, relationships beyond second cousins are often not carefully kept track of so that in practice there are many marriages between relatives. There are also marriages between individuals of the same surname. An interesting aspect 582 of marriage restrictions is that children of *compadres* cannot marry each other, for 608 they are "spiritual brothers and sisters." Since the *compadre* terminology is also extended to the sibling of the *compadre*, this marriage restriction also includes their [601] children, and many families are therefore ruled out from those eligible for marriage. There was not a single case of marriage between children of *compadres*.

582 The great majority of Tepoztecans marry within their own village. Of 585 married couples in the village in 1944 only 58 were marriages with outsiders. Of [62] those marrying into the village, 35 were women and 23 were men, reflecting the [591]

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boy's parents continues. In any case, elopements do not lead to disorganization, for most elopements end in marriage, and the couple make peace with their parents. Assuming that elopements are an old trait, as seems to be indicated, here we have a case in which urban influence has intensified an old trait rather than caused its breakdown. Moreover, because Redfield found practically no elopements in Tusik and many elopements in Merida, he associated elopements with urbanism and disorganization. But this assumes what has still to be proved. In Tepoztlán, which is much less urban than Merida, by Redfield's own standards, we find a much higher proportion of elopements than in Merida. Furthermore, in Tzintzuntzan, an even more isolated village, Foster found that ninety per cent of marriages began as elopements. And he cites documentary evidence for the antiquity of this pattern.[18]

The desire of young couples to become independent of their parents and to set up their own homes, which has been indicated earlier, reflects a greater individualism but does not necessarily imply a breakdown in family life. On the contrary, the lesser role of the in-laws and the greater dependence of the husband and wife upon each other, plus the fact that they are each of their own choice, may make for better marriage relations and greater family stability.

Although it is true that some outer forms of respect have been discarded, the fundamental respect status of elders remains. Perhaps the single exception has been the decline in the respect accorded elder brothers. But it is questionable whether the elder brother in Tepoztlán ever enjoyed the special position that he had in Maya society.

We find no evidence for any marked change in the reciprocal behavior of relatives, perhaps because such changes have occurred so far back in history that informants have no memory of them today. As we have said before, the extended family is weak and, so far as we know, has been weak for many generations. The same may be said for the use of kinship terms, which have not changed in recent history. In surrounding villages, which generally conserve older culture elements, kinship terms are used in substantially the same way as in Tepoztlán.

In the examples cited, it is clear that changes have occurred in the village, but these changes do not necessarily imply disorganization. Rather, they involve a new kind of organization or reorganization.[19]

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[18] Foster, *Empire's Children*, p. 429.

Beals, in another connection, has also called attention to a pattern of change different from that reported by Redfield. Beals writes, "Cherán, like many Indian communities of Mexico, is increasingly influenced by the town and the city. Nevertheless, the process again seems significantly different from those hitherto described by Redfield. In Cherán there is no distinction of *los suntos* and *los correctos*, mestizo and *indio*, or *ladino* and *indio*, although such may exist in some Tarascan towns with an appreciable mestizo population. Nor does the neat diminishing order of city, town, and village hold in this area. Cherán is probably more influenced by Gary [Indiana, U.S.A.], Mexico City, and Morelia [possibly in diminishing order] than it is by Uruapan and Pátzcuaro. Indeed, it is quite probable that fundamentally Cherán is more progressive, more in touch with the modern world, than is mestizo Pátzcuaro with its conscious idealization of a Colonial past." Beals, *Cherán*, pp. 211–12.

[19] Gross in a recent study has made the same point. He writes, " . . . it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization and disorganization are subject to a severe limitation. They